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RUSSIA

AS IT IS,

AND NOT AS IT HAS BEEN REPRESENTED;

TOGETHER WITH

OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS ON THE PERNICIOUS AND DECEITFUL POLICY OF THE

NEW SCHOOL.

26

'Pulchrum est accusari ab accusandis.'

LONDON:
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PICCADILLY.

RUSSIA

AS IT IS,

AND NOT AS IT HAS BEEN REPRESENTED.

Veritas nihil veretur, nisi abscondi.

THE gazetteers and politicians of the propaganda have latterly been labouring diligently to rouse the indignation of all Europe against Russia, in a manner the most invidious and ungenerous. A portrait has been exhibited of her by the artists of the new school, bearing not the slightest political, moral, or physical resemblance. The caricature of the lion, drawn by the fox. We are aware that squibs are constantly let off by party writers, to produce certain effects; and likewise, that they are not over circumspect in their adherence to truth. When the object is to excite mistrust and enmity, the passions lead the way, and then every trifling circumstance is misrepresented and exaggerated, to suit the envenomed purpose of detraction. The pen, once dipped in gall, sheds its bitter invectives without mercy. An impotent attack of the *herd* might pass off unnoticed; but when members of both Houses of Parliament, representatives of Great Britain, so far forget their dignity* as to join in the vulgar invectives of the *Illuminati*—the frantic pedagogues of the 'march of intellect'—it behoves the friends of peace, religion, morality, order, and good government, to meet their false and pernicious doctrines with the weapons of truth, and expose their

* I ought to have added—'their duty.'

vanity and presumption to the scoff and execration of all honest men and true patriots. One would imagine that the nations and governments of Europe are too well known to be easily calumniated. The contrary, however, appears to be the fact, for never has a country of the globe been more falsely represented than Russia; from what motives I know not, unless it be ignorance and malice, which so often go hand in hand. Judging by what has hitherto been published, we feel persuaded the greater part of Europe is wholly ignorant of the real character of the Russian people, their language, their religion, their laws, their morals, manners, and customs; and equally so of the composition of their government. That those who are ignorant may be easily led astray by misrepresentations, no one will attempt to deny: this, I would wish to believe, is the reason why certain persons have lately indulged themselves in such indecorous and illiberal language, in speaking of Russia and of her unrivalled monarch. The common appellation given to him by these ungracious, not to say vulgar calumniators, is 'the Despot of the North' and his Government is styled 'a vile despotism!' These spleenful epithets are both false and inapplicable to the justly-distinguished monarch and the laws and institutions of Russia. Ere I comment farther on this subject, I shall first endeavour to place before my readers a collection of matters of fact, taken from authentic sources and long experience, which will enable them to perceive the very erroneous, as well as unjust, opinions heretofore entertained of the government of Russia, her monarch, and her people. They must be aware, at the same time, that in a hasty and immethodical work of this kind, it would be

impossible to furnish them with full and ample details.* Imperfect as I feel this sketch is delineated, I cannot help flattering myself with the hope that it may serve, for the moment, to convey to the world at large more accurate notions than they have hitherto received of the political and moral existence of a nation whom they must feel interested to know more intimately. Most of the travellers who have written on Russia, being entirely unacquainted with the language, have drawn conclusions from a glance at the surface, not giving themselves the trouble to penetrate deeper; and, in consequence, have published opinions to the world, where ignorance and prejudice are both conspicuous. Russia, though styled by political writers 'an absolute monarchy,' possesses a mixed form of government, more equitably and mildly administered than is generally believed, because generally misunderstood. The loaves and fishes are there more fairly distributed than in most other kingdoms of Europe. As there are no parties, no political divisions and dissentions, the patronage is widely extended, and the honours, dignities, and wealth of the empire become the participation of a very large portion of his Imperial Majesty's subjects. When a new minister is made, it is extremely rare to see him deprive the head of a single department of his place. Indeed he dare not do it, without being able to shew satisfactory reasons why he should not continue to serve as formerly, In Russia there are no hereditary offices, so highly offensive wherever they exist. The nobles all consider themselves in duty bound to serve either in the military or civil service; it is therefore

* The laws of Russia already form a pandect of fifty to sixty volumes, in folio!

very uncommon to meet with one who has not served the crown, in some capacity or other, I shall now proceed to shew my readers the rights, privileges, and immunities of the several classes and descriptions of people, to whom the laws have delegated them, and which the monarch himself, the most powerful sovereign of Europe, is always extremely cautious not to infringe or invade. If, then, the Emperor of Russia respects certain rights and privileges, granted by the laws to the nation, how can he be a despot? If his power is in any the slightest manner limited by the force of national institutions, so that he does not use his own free will and caprice at every moment, he cannot be said to employ the unrestrained and absolute authority that *alone* constitutes the despot. The rights and privileges which the peasants enjoy, for centuries past, were delegated to them by the laws, and have been confirmed by constant habit, and the acknowledgment of them by the lords of the soil, ever since they were attached to the glebe. Speaking of the peasants, the law points out an act, or, as it is called in Russian, a *Krapost*. This means a contract or an agreement between the lord of the soil and the vassals, whereby certain duties are imposed upon them, for the use of the land, with the reservation of certain rights and privileges, which cannot be taken away from them, and which all the legislative acts, decrees, &c. even to this hour, are formed, to preserve unimpaired, in *the most unequivocal terms*. Indeed they seem so perfectly well understood and confessed by all classes, from the sovereign down, that there are seldom any disputes on a subject sanctioned by the laws, and confirmed by the common consent of the government and the nation. Those

learned politicians of the new school, then, who, with a *worthy democratic animosity*, have called Russia a despotism, must retract, since the laws have delegated to her nobles and her people, rights, privileges, and immunities, handed down from ancient times, which the monarchs have never infringed, and which still exist in all their pristine vigour. We shall now shew our readers, that what has been called slavery by those who have thought fit to misname everything Russian, is, properly, vassalage, with the reservation and enjoyment of certain rights and privileges granted to them by the laws, there being no word, in all the books on Russian legislation, to signify a slave! Peasant is called, in Russian, *Krestianin*, but when spoken of in relation to the lord of the soil, he is named *Krapostnoe Chelovek*, or bondsman; a name at once indicative of the contract existing between him and his lord. Otherwise he would have been styled *Rab*, or slave; *a word nowhere found in Russian legislative acts*. Indeed, I may add, that it is almost an obsolete term, very rarely used. A criminal, who works in chains, is called *Nevolnik*. The word *Rab* or slave is only found in the language of adulation, when the ancient Boyars, presenting themselves before the thrones of their princes, exclaimed, 'We are your slaves.' It will now be seen how difficult it is to form a correct judgment of the government and the people of Russia from the books of travellers, many of whom have only described their faults, and have either passed over in silence, or purposely disfigured, their good qualities. In order to satisfy my readers more fully on this subject, I shall present them with an extract of the ancient origin of the Russians, taken from their own chronicles. I must, how-

ever, again apologize for not giving more ample details, as the nature of my work does not admit of it. Russia has been formed by different tribes of the same people, under one general name of Slawiansky Narode, Slawianee or Sclavons, as we call them in English; but they call themselves Slavons. Some persons, ignorant of the language, absurdly imagined that the word *Slava* meant slave, and that the Sclavons or Russians were the sons of slaves. Unfortunately for the defamers of Russia, it happens that Slava means glory, and Sclavons or Slavons the sons of glory. The ordinary appellation of Russian, or Rouss, as it is written in Russian, is supposed to have been given to one of the Sclavon tribes on account of the colour of their hair, a light chesnut, called in the Russian language *Roussie*. Nestor, in pages 16 and 19, says, 'The Slawons of Novogorod had recourse to the *Variago Russus*. Some call them Variagues; others, *Ourmianes*, *Inglianes*, or *Goths*. Oleg, the second Russian prince, after taking *Kiew*,* said, "He hoped she would prove the mother of the Russian towns." He had with him Variagues, Slawons, &c., all of whom were styled Russians; and this was about the year 882, after Christ.' The Slawons being settled in the country now denominated Russia, were composed of several tribes, under separate governments; and the most numerous of them fixed their abode at Kiew and Novogorod. Continual disputes arose amongst them, until at length the dissensions at the latter place became so serious, one of the parties called in the assistance of a neighbouring tribe, the

* Called in Russian Kief; the *f* pronounced almost like a *v*.

Variagi, to decide the business; and whose chiefs were Rurik, Sinow, and Truvor. They put an end to the civil discord at Novogorod, but conquered the people, and then made several expeditions to the southern parts of Russia for the same purpose, and particularly to Kiew.

Rurik was a mild, equitable chief. During his reign, and, indeed, long after him, the sovereign continued to be nothing more than chief of the military forces in times of war, as all other business was decided, and all other processes adjudged, by an assembly of the people. For this purpose, there was a square or place in the middle of every town, in the centre of which was hung a large bell, that any of the citizens, whenever there was a matter of importance to communicate, was authorized to strike and convene the people. Rurick and his descendants obtained the title of princes. They ruled over all the largest towns of the country. These princes, aware of their weakness when divided, determined on forming a league or confederacy, and to choose a prince from amongst themselves, who should be styled *Veleki Kniaz*, or grand duke, and to whom they were to refer as arbiter in case of disputes. This title, by general consent, was conceded to the Prince of Kiew, as being the most powerful. At that time there was no distinction of classes in Russia. The citizens were all equal. No titles were known but those of princes given to the chiefs. It was not until after the expulsion of the Tartars, when the princes or grand dukes acquired more power, that they began to give titles to those who served near their persons. As yet, the Boyars, or nobles, had no power or jurisdiction over the people, who continued to ring their bell, and judge and decide all

public affairs in general assembly. About four hundred years ago, when all Russia became subject to the sway of a single sovereign, the Boyars acquired authority over the people. Although the Tsars, in succession, granted territorial possessions to the nobles, they gave them no power over the persons of the cultivators of the lands, until about one hundred years back, when the peasants were attached to the glebe. The *Dvoranin*, or noble, then became the master of the peasants, who cultivated his lands, but under a contract between them, as the name, in the legislative acts of Krapostnoe or bondsmen, where certain rights and privileges were observed to them, points out. These rights exist at this hour in all their vigour, and the situation of vassals has been greatly ameliorated within the last twenty years. I have dwelt upon this point, to show my readers that slavery does not exist, nor was it ever known, in Russia; and vassalage, the true name of it, is not of very ancient date; nor is it of that extreme servile kind it has been described by those who have purposely spoken only of its abuses,—insulated examples of tyranny, brutal behaviour, and oppression. To the honor and glory of Russia, it must be declared that slavery, such as exists in the United States of America, the West Indies, and elsewhere, *never was known on her soil.* The peasants have always enjoyed, and still preserve, *unimpaired,* their ancient free elective institutions in the government of the villages, and of which they never have been deprived for an instant. My readers must now be convinced that an arbitrary system of slavery never was contemplated, or ever has existed, in Russia. Whatever may have been the abuses which have taken place, arising out

of the limited submission of the people to the lords of the soil, whom they were bound to compensate for the liberty of cultivating it.

The Russian nation is divided into five classes, each class possessing rights and privileges according to their rank.

1st Class.—The nobles: composed of princes, counts, barons, and gentlemen, *all* styled *dvoriannee* or noblemen, who are entitled to buy or sell lands with peasants attached to them. The only distinctions amongst the nobles are ranks and titles; in all other respects they are equal. All the children of noblemen enjoy the same title as their parents, there being no established law of primogeniture in Russia. At the death of the father, the law gives his widow one seventh part of all his immoveable property, such as lands, houses, peasants, &c., and one fourth part of all the personal or moveable estate. After the widow's claims are satisfied, the daughters each take a fourteenth part; the residue is then equally divided amongst the sons.* A free man, not born of noble parents, must obtain the rank of lieutenant in the military service, or major in the civil service, before he is accounted noble; but if he be born of noble parents, though he should be a common soldier, he may enjoy the rank and privileges of a nobleman. No nobleman, however high his rank, can treat his peasants cruelly or extort illegal labour and taxes from them with impunity! For high crimes and misdemeanors he is as much amenable to the laws as the vassal. He is, however, ex-

* This must be understood to be the arrangement made by the law, when the father dies intestate, and where there is no entailed estate, which could not be aleniated even by will, he can only dispose of what he has himself acquired, or inherited free of entail.

empted from corporeal punishment, and must be tried by his peers. After being degraded by a court of his peers, the common court passes sentence upon him of exile to Siberia, either to colonize and work the ground as a peasant, or else to hard labour in the mines for life. High treason is the only crime in Russia punishable with death, and that very seldom. In every province the nobles elect their own marshals, who are in fact, their representatives, and are empowered to settle all affairs between them and the government. Each district chuses a marshal, and the province elects a marshal-in-chief, who resides at the capital town in order to be near the governor and other local authorities, with whom he can more freely communicate. The nobles have the right of meeting together, and forming an assembly, for the purpose of deliberating on all affairs of importance. They choose a president from among themselves, and they have also the right of petitioning the Emperor, through the governor of the province. In those assemblies they elect their own judges for the courts of justice, as well as the justices of the peace. They have also the right of petitioning the high senate, and are permitted to collect and employ funds for the encouragement and advancement of all useful objects without controul, and are not amenable to any court of justice. There is a register kept by them, of the names of all the nobles of the province, and they are bound to pay a certain tax to assist the service of the post, and to keep the roads in good repair. Should any of those assemblies address a petition to the high senate that is illegal, or in other words contrary to the existing laws of the empire, they are liable to a fine of two hundred roubles. The empire is

divided into about 50 provinces, each possessing a population of from three hundred thousand to one million two hundred thousand souls. A civil governor, with a vice-governor, are appointed to preside over each province; and some two or three provinces have general or military governors. In every province there is an executive council, composed of two counsellors, an assessor, &c., of which the governor is the President. They are named by the high senate, as likewise an advocate, called in Russia a *procuror*. This last-named officer possesses the right of examining, whenever he pleases, all the acts of the government of the province, as well as those of the police, to oppose illegal proceedings, to protest against them, and prevent their execution. Whenever his interference is disregarded, he sends his protest direct to the high senate. The procuror, being independent of the authorities of the province, and responsible only to the minister of justice and the senate, is a strong check against partiality and undue influence, in cases of dispute amongst the citizens, or in criminal causes, where power and riches attempt to interfere or prevent the regular course of justice. That these checks should sometimes fail, in Russia, is not surprising, since there is no country of the globe where riches do not exercise occasionally undue and mischievous influence. In England, a rich man will carry a suit into chancery, and tire down a poorer adversary, or exhaust his finances, and oblige him to quit the field. When only the mere expense is taken into consideration, law-suits cost much less in Russia than any other country of Europe, Prussia excepted, where there is the strictest regard paid to justice, and causes are decided with an activity and vigilance *truly*

exemplary. But to proceed with my subject. There is a civil and a criminal court in every province. The president, and two assessors of the criminal court, are elected by the nobles, and the counsellors are appointed by the senate. Each province is divided into from seven to twelve districts, every district having its court of justice, composed of a judge and two or three assessors chosen by the nobles, and one or two elected by the citizens. There is also a court of administration, for the property of widows and orphans of noblemen, whose president is the marshal of the district, and consists of a district judge and two counsellors. The justice of peace of the district, likewise, has his court: he is appointed by the nobles, but his two assessors are elected by the crown peasants. In every town there is a police master, appointed by the government, who has also his petty court of justice, where causes are decided verbally; besides the magistracy, composed of a magistrate and two burgomasters, chosen from amongst and elected by the citizens. This is a court of the first instance, where all causes and disputes are tried and decided, which arise amongst the citizens, or between them and the nobles. To it is always annexed an orphan's court, having a magistrate and two counsellors, chosen from the members of the above-mentioned court. In every province there is also a court of equity, named in Russia a *Court of Conscience*, consisting of a judge and two deputies, chosen by the nobles, two deputies appointed by the citizens, and two deputies elected by the peasants. The elections of the presidents of the higher courts, and the provincial marshals, must be confirmed by the Emperor. It is, therefore, customary for the nobility to elect two candi-

dates, and the Emperor confirms one of them, whichever he pleases. All the officers elected must be confirmed by the governor-general, and where there is no governor-general, by the civil governor; but they are not authorized to reject the candidate offered to them, unless he be a man of bad character, whom the laws have already disqualified from ever serving in any public capacity. The elections are held every three years. When any one is dissatisfied with the decision of a court of the first instance, he appeals to a higher one, and so on, until he comes to the senate: from thence the ultimate appeal is, through the privy council, to his Imperial Majesty. The crown peasants, in their villages, elect their own *starostas*,* elders or head men, from amongst themselves, who act as magistrates. Petty disputes, &c. are always decided by them, with a great deal of justice and impartiality; so much so, that appeals are rarely made to higher tribunals, except when they involve some intricate law points, or great criminality.

2nd Class—Consists chiefly of merchants, who are divided into gilds or ranks, according to the amount of trading capital they exhibit for taxation. Those of the first gild declare a capital of fifty thousand roubles; the second gild twenty thousand roubles; the third gild five thousand roubles, and so on. The merchants, citizens, and mechanics of every town, have

* Amongst the peasants of many of the rich proprietors, with the consent of the lords, the same arrangements are frequently adopted, so that the lord of the soil, or his agent, takes no cognizance whatever of crimes or disputes, which are judged by the peasants themselves. The lord, or agent, is then only the executive authority, to see the judgments enforced.

their corporations, and elect their own magistrates. They have also a commercial court. They are not bonnd to give recruits from their own body, but to pay a certain sum to supply them to the crown; and they pay no capitation tax, but so much per cent. on the amount of their declared capitals. The laws allow them to buy and hold lands, houses, &c., but not vassals. They can trade throughout the empire when provided with proper passports.

3rd Class.—The peasants. These are composed of crown peasants, or free farmers, and vassals. The free farmers, or crown peasants, amount to about fifty or sixty thousand; men who have obtained their freedom by mutual agreement between them and their lords, and whose rights have been confirmed to them by the crown. They occupy lands, which have been given or sold to them, and of which they are the owners, having the power to sell or dispose of them in any way they think proper. A crown peasant pays no land tax, nor any but a capitation tax, and he is subject to none but the public authorities of the province where he resides. Vassals cultivate the lands belonging to their lords, are attached to the glebe, and cannot be alienated from it. All descriptions of peasants are bound to furnish recruits; the free farmers do it by turns, and the vassals by the nomination of their starostas, with the consent of their lords. The law obliges every proprietor of vassals to furnish them with a sufficient quantity of land for their own use: they work three days for the lord and three days for themselves. Others, by their own desire, are put upon *Obrok*,* as it is termed; that is, to pay the lord so much a-head per annum, instead of working for him.

* A tax in money.

Those who have been taught a trade of any sort pay him a higher obrok than a mere cultivator, and he receives a passport to go and reside where he pleases. The peasants who become traders also pay a very high obrok; sometimes the lord takes out a gild for them, and they acquire large fortunes by commerce. Many lords permit all their vassals to pay obrok; then, should they cultivate any portion of land for him, he pays them for their labour, unless there should be an agreement made to the contrary, in consequence of the smallness of the obrok. The obrok, throughout Russsia, generally speaking, is about twelve to fifteen roubles per annum, and even on the best lands, rarely exceeds twenty-five roubles a-head per annum,* including the government taxes and all other expences. Those who pay a higher obrok, must be either mechanics, traders, or merchants, who have the means of acquiring money, more easily than the cultivator of the soil. A peasant who has served as a soldier for twenty years then becomes a freeman, and is exempted from all sorts of taxation. Should he have conducted himself with bravery and probity during his service, he retires with the rank of sergeant. If he chooses to prolong his service twelve years, as sergeant, he then becomes an officer and a nobleman :—he cannot, however, transmit the rights of nobility to his children, except to those born after he has been ennobled.

4th Class—Are styled honourable citizens. These are artists, teachers, manufacturers, and various intermediate people, who possess acquirements above the vulgar, and who by their

* Heads male.—The females pay no tax unless they should wish to absent themselves from their village and go to service in the towns or to the capital. Then their lord furnishes them with a proper passport, and makes them pay an obrok.

talents, industry, and assiduity, may attain a higher rank. They are exempted from corporeal punishment, and may transmit their rights to their posterity. In cases of crimes and misdemeanours, they must also be tried by their peers.

5th Class—The Clergy. These are often made from the nobles, but generally speaking the sons of the clergy follow the profession of their fathers: the exceptions to this rule are mostly students of medicine. There are *no tithes in Russia*—the most insufferable and unpopular of all taxes!! The clergy derive their principal support from the voluntary donations of their parishioners.* Every priest who does duty at a village church, receives as much land as is commonly allotted to two peasants, or even more should he demand it, and the peasants frequently assist him to cultivate it. Indeed, throughout Russia, most of the landed proprietors allow a small salary to the priests who do duty in their villages. The clergy are certainly not sumptuously provided for, but they are, nevertheless, well furnished with all the necessaries of life, and the means to live comfortably. This dependance on their parishioners has the effect of making them more attentive to their duty, and at the present day the character of a Russian priest† has assumed a tone of respectability and piety, not always met with in older countries. This disposition, the Russians, who are religious, from feeling and principle, encourage, by paying proper deference to those, whose conduct is distinguished by a rigid observance of good morals

* Most of the churches have been built by donations and subscriptions, consequently are endowed with funds more or less rich, and from this capital the clergy also receive small salaries.

† Priest in Russian is called Swaschenik, but the vulgar name is Pope.

and strict attention to the sacred duties of their profession. The clergy who serve in the remote parts of Siberia, receive pay and rations of flour from the Government; indeed, I ought to say, from the Emperor's private purse. His Imperial Majesty having heard that the clergy of Kamchatka were extremely poor and unable to buy bread, immediately ordered them to be furnished with flour, and their salaries increased from his own funds; one of the strongest proofs of his paternal care; for in some of those distant places, the number of Russians are so few, it would be a sufficient pretext, for a government less protective, to refuse them a Church Establishment. But to the honour and eternal glory of the Emperor, be it said, that throughout his Empire, wherever there are a handful of Christians collected together, there will you find a church, a clergyman, and all the consolatory associations of religion. In this, his Imperial Majesty has strictly fulfilled the words of the gospel, and has 'laid up for himself treasures in Heaven, where moth and rust cannot corrupt, and where thieves cannot break through and steal.' As this is only a slight sketch of Russia, drawn to suit the impulse of the moment, I must deny myself the pleasure of giving my readers a number of very interesting details, which would swell my work beyond the limits I have marked out for it. I trust, however, they will have found thus far, a sufficient number of facts to convince them, the Russian nation possesses rights, privileges, and immunities, incompatible with and repugnant to the principles of despotism. If it had been said that the Emperor of Russia is the most powerful sovereign of Europe, I should not attempt to deny it; because it is true, and because *it is necessary that he should be*

exactly what he is, the Monarch and the Father of his people. The immense Empire over which he reigns, compounded of various nations, several of whom have been conquered, but have always been left in the full enjoyment of their religion and their laws, united now under one head; certainly require the protecting arm of a firm government, and the mild and genial influence of a paternal one; both of which they have experienced, unaccompanied by any of those capricious traits of tyranny and oppression, which are the peculiar attributes of despotism.* The forbearance, the benevolence, the generosity, *the tolerance*, and the greatness of soul which have distinguished the monarchs of Russia, are not less worthy of admiration than the conquests of their invincible armies!!! Always stooping with meekness and religious fervor before the king of kings, they have acted as his vicegerents, bestowing with a liberal hand, and more than human benignity, God's grace upon their enemies. In this manner have they made Russia beloved even by her foes; and we are truly astonished that her policy and her conduct are not better appreciated by those whose aim *ought to be* to cherish all solid, good, religious, and moral institutions, which, in these times of licentiousness and misrule, form an impregnable barrier to the revolutionary and impious projects of the frantic disciples of democracy. Abuses exist, more or less, in every country of the globe, no matter how free, or to speak in the fashionable language of the propaganda, how

* Vide Bonaparte's conquests—and other examples which might be brought nearer home, but I forbear. The proverb says—'Conquerors inspire awe, the wise our esteem, but it is the *benevolent alone* who captivate our hearts, and command our affections.'

liberal its institutions. Would it, however, be just to blame the emperor of Russia, the king of England, or the president of the United States of America, for any corrupt practices that may be occasionally committed under their governments? They all three preside over extensive empires: their general governors and governors, situated many of them at enormous distances from the capital. If they were cramped in their powers, and obliged to await the decision of the sovereign and his ministers in every instance, the wheels of government would stand still. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to invest them with ample power and authority to act independently, according to circumstances; else it would be as impossible for them to do good, as it is easy for them to make improper use of the power delegated to them. That men should abuse what they are only authorised to use, is not surprising to those who know the frailty of human nature, and the egotism and presumption of little minds in the plenitude of power. This, however, is no more than a disease of the surface, like the spots or pimples which sometimes appear on the skins of the healthiest constitutions, without impairing their vigour, nor do they detract from the character of a nation, and the usual good effects of a paternal system of government. From a very long intimacy with those of Russia, we are bold to assert, that the Russians are, without any exception, the best fed, the best clothed, the most contented, and intrinsically the happiest people on the face of the earth! They are naturally mild and generous, possessing a large stock of good nature joined to quickness and intelligence, and are hospitable and charitable to a fault. To die of hunger in any of the cities, towns, or populous parts of Russia, is a thing *un-*

heard of; and the beggars, who are few in proportion to the population, will be found on inquiry, to be idlers and drunkards, or those whom disease and infirmity have rendered unfit for labour.* He who is in possession of health and strength, and the smallest portion of industry, in a country where all the necessaries of life are so cheap and abundant, can never want food, nay more, he may readily acquire property. Whoever will give himself the trouble to examine impartially the genius and character of the Russians, must smile with contempt at their calumniators. Feeble optics weakened by prejudice, who endeavour to make us believe there can be nothing good or great in Russia, and that her power, grandeur, and prosperity, are all '*unfounded* and *unsolid*!' It is, that they are ignorant of the inexhaustible resources of that fertile, rich, and immense empire, and are still less acquainted with the language of her gentle but valiant people, whose generous hearts burn with the love of their religion, their sovereign, and their country, who root to the soil like their own native forests, which wave majestic to the wintery storms, and brave the northern blasts. Reader! let not their malice cloud your better judgment, nor induce you to imagine a plant unwholesome, that rises in full vigour from the richness of its native soil? The growth of Russia has not been premature, as her enemies pretend; not started from a hot-bed of vicious and unnatural heat and pushed to redundancy.

* I once saw a sturdy, good looking fellow, ask alms of a peasant, where I stopped in travelling. The host immediately gave him some bread and meat. Said I, that man appears in health and able to work; you only make him lazy by feeding him. The peasant replied—'It is our duty to be charitable; if he is unworthy, the sin lies at his door. There is no harm in giving, even to a sinner—God is the judge.'

Her ancient origin, as I have already shewn, is pure and noble, her advancement has been gradual and natural, though long unobserved by her European neighbours, until roused by her enemies, like a youthful lion, she exposed at once her invincible strength and prowess. Narrow, indeed, must be the conceptions of those, who do not perceive that the omnipotent creator of the universe has made all mankind equally the objects of his solicitude; nor has he confined genius, talents, and courage to any particular spot, but spread his blessings with a liberal hand on every soil. All nations have their vices, their faults, and their virtues; but as I believe the latter generally preponderate, I must always doubt those panegyrists who set up the perfections of their own nation as the standard, and detract from the good qualities of others, because they are not exhibited precisely under the same costumes, habits, and manners to which they have been accustomed. Some travellers have imagined, because the Russians are vassals, are not all clad in cloth, do not eat ragouts, fricasées, omelettes soufflé, roast beef and plum-puddings, and never speak in terms of reproach of their government, they *must be miserable, wretched slaves!* If they had given themselves the trouble to enquire, they would have discovered that a *touloop*, or pelisse, costs more than a coarse cloth garment, and is worn in preference by the peasant, to defend him from the inclemency of the climate. They make no allowance for early habits, the force of education, religion, climate, &c., &c., but conclude, without knowing a word of the language, consequently totally ignorant of the feelings and sentiments of the people, that misery and a sheep-skin coat must inevitably be united! We must not, how-

ever, accuse a Russian peasant for eating black bread, if he prefers it, or for wearing a sheep-skin coat, if he find it more comfortable and warmer than cloth. Let those gentlemen travellers only give themselves time and trouble to examine the qualities of the peasant himself who appears so uncouthly clad. They will find him polite, goodnatured, kind, hospitable, and charitable. The Chinese are said to be the most ceremoniously polite of all the nations of the globe, and the Russians may truly be ranked as the people who possess the most natural and genuine politeness, without show or affectation. The common classes exhibit it at every moment. In passing each other, if acquainted, they pull off their hats; should they stop to converse, their enquiries are such as are used by the higher orders in other countries; and though they should have business to speak of, it must be very pressing indeed if they enter upon it before the questions concerning health and friends, and all the forms of civility, are finished. Having known Russia *intimately* for more than 20 years, having feasted at the luxurious tables of the nobles, and eat *tshee*,* black bread, and sour milk, with their vassals, and having heard the latter frequently express their feelings and sentiments, on every subject, without reserve, I may surely be allowed to have had opportunities of acquiring *some* knowledge of the morals, manners, dispositions, &c., &c., of a nation whom I have taken great pains to study. Understanding the language, and speaking it fluently, are advantages which I also possess. I feel, therefore, perfectly satisfied that my experience enables me to judge with tolerable correctness,

* Cabbage soup.

and my love of truth and justice inspires me to speak of them impartially. Most firmly, then, do I believe their patriotism and good sense will always prevent them from quarrelling with abuses which now and then occur, and that they never will be induced to sacrifice their solid enjoyments, peace and contentment, for theoretical independence and all its turbulent concomitants, which, they well know, would only make them dissatisfied and unhappy. When we take into serious consideration the very extensive empire under the dominion of the emperor of Russia, the various religions, laws, manners, and customs, and oftentimes conflicting interests, which his government is not only obliged to protect, but to conciliate, we must immediately confess that a strong, well-disciplined, effective army, and a firm executive, are as necessary to preserve them, as a paternal administration is to equilibrate and unite them together. Can a sovereign, of any sense or feeling become indifferent to fifty millions of subjects, the greater part of them such men as I have just described? He also would be greatly misled, could he suffer himself to listen, even for an instant, to the speculative opinions of theorists, who recommend constitutional liberty, when his people are already in possession of rights and privileges suited to their political and moral existence, and with which they are perfectly satisfied. Peaceable, good, industrious, brave, and loyal subjects! Mild and hospitable to their friends, but *terrible to their foes!** Ought he to be lured away by the sophisms of democracy,—the deceitful eloquence of the propaganda, with their

* Helvetius says, 'Les bonheur des peuples depend, et de la felicité, dont ils joissent au dedans, et du respect, qu'ils inspirent au dehors.'

ignis fatuus, the *march of intellect*,—to compose *liberal institutions* for his subjects, reared upon the baseless fabric of popular frenzy, and the wild fancies of ignorant speculatists, whose religion, education, morals, manners, &c., are totally discordant with, and repugnant to, those of Russia? No! It is his duty, not only to refuse the adoption of such chimerical projects, but to oppose, with *all his force*, the incoherent, licentious, and unsubstantial theories of the propaganda; *for never, in the history of man, has democracy* produced anything durable and prosperous.* But he must be proscribed, forsooth, because he does not approve of their mischievous doctrines, and has quelled those rebellious subjects who were weak and stupid enough to listen to them. Must all Europe be dictated to by a set of triflers? A troop of French mountebank politicians, who labour to persuade mankind that their fricasees and puff paste of democracy are wholesomer food than the roast beef and plum-puddings of aristocracy, which their sickly and degraded stomachs are not able to digest! But, let me ask, Have they at any time, for fifteen years together, since their not famous, but *infamous* revolution, exhibited a regular system of religion, morality, order, and good government? What are we to think of the spirit of democracy, and the *march of intellect*, when we see them produce nothing but disorder, anarchy, and confusion?† These political chemists tell us 'the vices and passions of mankind must be purged, like the impurities of the ocean, by volcanoes.' If this be true, why anticipate the

* America is no exception. It is not a democratic republic, as I could plainly demonstrate, if I had time.

† Quod ab initio non valet tractu temporis, convalescere, non potest.

catastrophe? Every country must have its turn, and, like the inhabitants about the basis of Ætna and Vesuvius, let us enjoy ourselves until the overflowing lava obliges us to retreat! But I am not of their opinion. They speak and act, like all other quacks, without understanding the nature of the disease. These violent concussions and explosions of the passions are engendered by irreligion, immorality, the destruction of social order, licentiousness, *ignorance*, and presumption. When I say ignorance, I do not mean a total want of education, but a neglected and a vicious one, leaving the morals loose and unrestrained, the faculties of youth unimproved, parental and filial duties disregarded and forgotten, and, in short, all the dependant links of society burst asunder, to gratify the inordinate passions of those whom democracy has nurtured at the bosom of depravity. 'Libertas est potestas faciendi, id, quod, jure licet,' says Cicero. But the ideas of the youth of the present age, in France and Germany, are to form laws for themselves, or, in other words, to hold themselves superior to all legal restraint whatever!!! Is everything religious, moral, good, and substantial, to be cried down and trampled underfoot by a band of inexperienced schoolboys? Are age, wisdom, and experience to be dictated to, and bullied into silence, by the unfledged disciples of Jacobinism? The cry of political liberty and natural rights is sufficient to alarm every civilized man; since he knows, the moment he became bound by the laws and regulations of the social compact, he ceded them away, and can never resume them again, without doing violence to order and good government, and returning to the state of barbarity from whence, for many centuries past, he has been

happily rescued. That the propaganda are labouring to bring about anarchy and confusion, there is little doubt; but their efforts will prove abortive. Fortunately, mankind are not so entirely stupid, or insensibly blind, to their *real* interests as to be gulled by their absurdities, and, like the dog in the fable, 'bite at the shadow and lose the substance.' The futile schemes of those speculative philosophers and cobweb-weaving politicians are too flimsy to impose upon plain common sense. Their adherents must soon be reduced to those castle-building projectors who practise only in their closets; whose imaginations are obscured by the clouds of fiction, rendering the medium through which they see, so dense that it magnifies every object, but conceals, at the same time, its defects. I can assure them, the people of the north of Europe have no such optical illusions; and God forbid they should ever have their mental faculties obscured by the false glare and the glittering coruscations of the aurora Australis of the *non illuminating illuminati!* God be praised! they see perfectly clear and straightforward, without the aid of a lens, *à la propagandi*, and judge, in a sound and wholesome manner, of good and bad, right and wrong, and act from the impulse of religion, duty, and morality. The artful sophistry of the new school will never persuade them that black is white, or *vice versa:* or to embrace new fangled political dogmas, and barter a life of ease, plenty, and contentment, for impiety, discontent, and rebellion; because they happen to be vassals, and vassalage has been cried down by the anarchists, who have an implacable hatred for all religious, moral, and permanent institutions. These political wise-acres, however, have de-

clared the nations of the north of Europe as yet *unfit* to receive the poisonous unction of their *liberal* maxims, and the truly *incomparable* peace-destroying plans of their sanguinary fabrication. They were disappointed, nay, sorely vexed, to hear that their fulminating powders, exported to the north,—owing, no doubt, to the frosty virtue of Boreal incapacity to appreciate them,—refused to explode beyond the frontiers of Poland. What a dreadful mishap!! what a cruel and sudden check to the expansion of the Jacobinic acid gas of the illuminati in the northern hemisphere!!! Happy, thrice happy, art thou, oh people of the north, to be thus disqualified! Long, long, may you remain blind and insensible to the lure of those undermining and rebellious principles, begotten in depravity, and propagated at the expence and destruction of the dearest interests of civilized society! But let me tell these mighty and learned professors of *liberty* and *independence*, who labour to sap the foundations of the great bulwark of our altars and firesides, how little they understand the meaning of the terms, or know how to appreciate them? Civil liberty is the *only liberty* that social man has a right to claim. This presupposes a perfect obedience to the laws, a submission to those whom the constitution of the realm has appointed to administrate them; and this is the liberty every honest man and good citizen ought to be tenacious to *observe* and to *preserve* unimpaired. Not the liberty that Voltaire describes—

> 'La liberté, convive aimable
> Mets les deux couds sur la table,'

the unrestrained attitude of the disciples of the new school, who, indeed, go much farther, and even put *their feet upon the table!!!!* Ever

since the Marquis de la Fayette returned from aiding the Americans to gain their independence, he and his speculative friends, filled with *enthusiasm* for republican institutions, have laboured to establish in France a similar republic to that of the United States of America, never reflecting that every structure, no matter what may be its composition, whether political, moral, or of mere bricks and mortar, requires a foundation. But these airy builders of republics in the clouds, never thought it worth while to take this *trifle* into consideration. A republic must be erected in imitation of what had been seen on the opposite shores of the Atlantic, and they did not trouble their brains about the *quality* of the materials of which it was to be formed. This monkey-like disposition to copy everything they see, whether good or bad, suitable or unsuitable, is not only ridiculous, but oftentimes a fatal propensity. How far those political philosophers succeeded in their first attempt, '*la grand revolution*,' the most cruel, sanguinary, and barbarous, that ever disgraced the annals of humanity, has spoken for itself. The restoration of the Bourbons has been succeeded by another bloody revolution, led on by the same old '*Jack-o'-the-Lantern*.'* He contrived to frighten away the elder branch of the reigning family, but, unfortunately, the younger one could not be got rid of so easily; and at the moment when he was flattering himself with the enviable title of *President of the French republic*, the cry of '*Vive Louis-Philippe*' thundered in his ears, and dashed the delicious, but untasted cup of democratic ambition from the parched lips of the illustrious chief of the illuminati. I

* Or Will-o'-the-Wisp, who leads men into the mire, and then leaves them *there*, to get out the best way they can.

call upon him and his companions to recollect one of Seneca's maxims,—

'Quiquid excessat modum,
Pendit instabile loco.'

Indeed, I could have told them, in the year 1789, that they were unskilful architects of republics. An unwieldly superstructure, composed of an enormous mass of incongruous materials, was erected upon a rotten foundation, or, rather, as I said before, on no foundation whatever, and crumbled down with its own weight. If the noble Marquis's compatriots were disqualified for a republican form of government, by *la grande revolution*, they were still less qualified at the close of it, when religion, morality, and all the most sacred ties of the social compact, were burst asunder and trampled under foot!! Religion, morality, industry, sobriety, and simple manners, with *great constancy and consistency of character*, were the qualities which distinguished the Quakers, and other British sects, who emigrated to people the virgin soil of North America. They inculcated into the minds of their children the same religious principles, political opinions, and moral sentiments and conduct; and on those *solid* foundations did they rear their republic. It has been named a federal republic, on account of the federation of several states under one head; but it is intrinsically an aristocratic republic, slavery being allowed there, and other things, which neither the nature of this work, nor time, will permit me now to expatiate upon, but which are really and truly aristocratic. I have the greatest respect for America, because everything in her government that has a claim to solidity is copied from her mother country, and is aristocratic; and if there is anything to endanger its stability and permanence, it is the

democratic materials which a certain party in the United States have patched upon the federal constitution, like pieces of coarse cloth upon a superfine coat. Now let me ask, in the spirit of truth and candour, every moderate, sensible, and reflecting mind, whether it was possible to establish a permanent republic in a country where the people did not possess *one single quality* of all those necessary ones I have enumerated, whereon to erect it? Will any one pretend to say the French nation were better prepared in July, 1830? * If there is any one hardy enough to make the assertion, I must refer him to M. Dupin's able, luminous, and candid work, wherein the ignorance, depravity, and incapacity of his countrymen are exposed without disguise. The revolution of July, *so called*, was only the ascendancy of a faction that I am grieved to perceive is likely soon to be crushed by some other or others, who will unite with the democrats, whom nothing but anarchy can appease. If the party in power had not been afraid of them, they never would have consented to *mingle republican institutions with a monarchical form of government.* An anomaly! a paradox! a perfect absurdity in the science of governments. The governors governed, or, in other words, the *sovereign people* holding an uplifted axe over the head of their monarch, and exclaiming, 'You are our slave,—if you dare to act otherwise than according to our *supreme will*, your neck shall pay the forfeit!!' Where there are no steady fixed

* Tacitus says, 'In turbus et discordias pessimo cuique plurima vis: et quies bonis artibus indigent.'

They must have a long series of peaceful years before the foul sediment, that by constant agitation has been pushed upwards, and now forms a loathsome scum, subsides and rests where *the dregs ought always to be—at the bottom.*

principles, no virtue, no consistency, there can be nothing well organized or solid. At the beginning of the *grande revolution*, the people stuck the *bonnet rouge* over their ancient feudal costumes, and dancing with frantic joy round the tree of liberty, that had never pushed forth a single root in their soil, immediately conceived themselves the *most accomplished republicans!!* Since the affair of July they have been trying on the costume of John Bull, but it sits upon them, as Jack would say, 'Like a purser's shirt upon a handspike, or like Will Waddle's night-gown, after sweating down for six months over the baker's oven.' No! no! most learned doctors of the new school. Juvenal tells us, 'Nunquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dicet.' Nature has shown that the passions of men are violent and dangerous when unrestrained; and wisdom has pointed out the social compact, sustained by wholesome laws, to curb the ebullitions of refractory spirits, and preserve the dominion of peace and justice. National institutions must be adapted to the religion, the climate, morals, and manners; consequently are not to be imitated, at every instant, like the new-fashioned cut of a coat.* But where there is neither religion, morals, character, or consistency, the devil himself, with his two-edged shears, would not be able to cut them out a constitution! The tailors of the democratic school, however, are cleverer than Old Nick, for at a moment's warning they will fashion you off constitutions to suit all nations, no matter what may be their physical conformation, or their moral and political organization!! Gentlemen tailors of the propaganda, permit me to recommend the good old English

* 'Cucullus non fecit monachum.'

proverb to you—'Cut your coats, according to the cloth.' For hitherto, whatever has come from your hands sets much too loosely upon the wearers; leaving their religion and morals as unrestrained as their limbs, their passions unbridled, and youth and inexperience running wild, under the exuberant heat of licentiousness, like the lawless and barbarous aborigines of the South-Sea Islands! In spite of your best endeavours, your own favourite people never will be qualified to live, I won't say happy, but *even contented*, under what is styled a free government! They are irreligious, immoral, passionate, frivolous, and inconsistent, and ardently attached to war, with all its feudal pomp and brilliant allurements. This last-mentioned trait is sufficient to enslave them at every step. He who shall flatter their favourite passion, their vanity and their presumption, *he* shall be their chief, their emperor, their tyrant,—I might say their God, for they have no religion;—though he were born in the heart of Maugin, and nurtured at the bosom of La Fayette.* I should not have touched upon this nauseous theme, or made the slightest attempt to arraign the principles and conduct of those *republicans* and *patriots*, as they style themselves, were it not that *they*, who are no more fit for a republican government than the subjects of the Grand Turk, should have the audacity to set themselves up as the fountain of freedom and independence, calling aloud upon all the nations of Europe to follow their impious example, to drink deep of the turbid, foul, and vicious stream flowing from

* 'Reipublicæ forma laudari facilius quàm evenire, et si evenit, haud diuturna esse potest.'—*Tacitus*.

This assertion of Tacitus shews his profound wisdom, and has been fully proved in Greece, France, &c.

such an impure and poisonous source! If we are to change our forms of government, to forswear our allegiance, to innovate upon our ancient customs, to sacrifice our peace and contentment, and engage in the bloody turmoils of these handicraft constitutionalists, in the name of reason, let them shew us *something better* than that which we already possess, to induce us to resign what we know, *from experience*, to be *good, substantial, and solid?* Let them convince us, by examples of religion, morality, industry, order, and good government, that the precepts they strive to inculcate are sound and wholesome. Then, and *not until then*, can we feel a confidence in their assertions. We can never refuse to adopt principles which promise us the *certainty* of advancing to a higher degree of perfection. But if, on the contrary, we see sanguinary revolutions, impiety, immorality, barbarous manners, anarchy, and confusion, we shrink from their baneful doctrines with horror and disgust.*

'In eadem re utilitas et turpetudo esse non potest.'
CICERO.

Those who strive to gain their ends *per fas et nefas*, prove at once that they are urged on by factious motives, egotism, and mischievous de-

* What hopes can be entertained of a people who, in their savage impatience of all sorts of restraint, are offended with the appellation of subject! As if there were chains and slavery in the name that every honest, well-meaning, civilized man glories in: since it evinces his respect for the laws of his country, which are the protectors of his liberty and property, whilst they exact from him a due submission to the regulations of society. No people can be *more tenacious* of their liberty, and no nation enjoys *so much in reality*, as Britons. Yet they are *proud* of the title of British subjects. Subjects of the king and the laws of the realm. Nothing but the most licentious and unprincipled egotism, and the most perfect ignorance and misconception of the value of *civil liberty*, would dictate such egregious nonsense!

signs against society. However, we feel an intimate persuasion that not a man of the north of Europe, the whole population of which has been denounced by the propaganda, would listen for a moment to their revolutionary and atheistical schemes for rendering mankind not only rebellious to their governments, but to their Creator. No! God, in his infinite wisdom and mercy, seems to have purposely preserved them, untainted by those vile principles, as the bulwark of religion and morality, the impregnable ramparts of the citadel of virtue and of social order! Indeed, those theoretical gentlemen themselves must now feel convinced *the march of intellect*, or in other words, rebellion and licentiousness,* can no longer *march forward*, under the pressure of those solid virtues, sound common sense and contentment, which spread their benign influence over the northern regions, and are united with peace, industry, plenty, and cheerfulness. Let me describe how easily the meanest man in the north obtains his daily bread, where the feverish heat of turbulent democracy has not been able to penetrate. Let me shew them the comforts of a vassal, his home, his fire-side. Then let them go calm the popular tumults of the south, for want of food, with their empty jacobinic *puffs* and their soup maigre, *à la santé aux legumes*. No! gentlemen, your victuals are as unsubstantial as your systems are vicious and corrupt. But the cameleons of the new school, who gasp and cut at flies under the ardent sun of independence, though *greatly cramped* about the gastric region,

* It is truly deplorable to reflect on the frequency of rebellion in our days, and that a familiarity with it should have made it, for an instant, appear less iniquitous! More horrible still is the idea, that any government should stoop to employ, in her intrigues, the vicious part of a population against their legitimate monarch.

try to persuade us that the hydrogen gas of democracy is more wholesome and pure than the atmospheric air to which our lungs are already accustomed! More nutritious than the *new milk of an aristocratic cow!* Alas! gentlemen! you have more than once convinced us, that your gas is deleterious, dangerous, and destructive to the vital principles of our moral and political existence! Your diet is really too thin; your soups are too *transparent* for northern stomachs. Even honest John Bull himself, the only one amongst you who really enjoys civil liberty, has lately somewhat injured his digestion, by trying some of your political salmagundies. His taste for *solids*, though it may have been impaired, believe me can never be destroyed. After sickening awhile on your *windy* dishes, he will grumble to see there are no beefsteaks, and will return with fresh appetite to his good old national fare of roast beef and plum puddings, with a mug of best British brown stout to wash it down. Do not imagine, that in his eagerness to reform certain abuses, he will let you pull down the fabric of his ancient and beloved constitution. He will not sacrifice at the unhallowed shrine of democracy, the sacred ties of parental and filial duties, the love of his invaluable constitution, the blessings of peace and industry, the fond endearments of his fireside! All the solid comforts and enjoyments of social life, which he possesses in a high degree, and which it is his principal aim to preserve uninjured, all crowd imperiously upon his mind, and will never permit him to become a member of the disunion clubs, revolutionary and regenerating societies, and the omelette soufflé suppers of the southern illuminati.* He seems a quiet, good-natured

* I am persuaded the mass of the people of Great Britain think as I do. Their liberty and their enjoyments are not

sort of animal; but whilst you are patting his sleek hide, beware of his horns. The points have never been sawed off, and you may find them in your ribs, before you have time to offer him a cup of *café à l'eau* de la republique une et indivisible* with a glass of La Fayette's best stomachic *pousse café* the *parfait amour de la patrie.*† 'Hominis est erare, insipientis vero perseverare'—A wise man, on discovering his error, alters his opinion; but a fool, never. Conviction, cannot penetrate the thickness of his pericranium .... But enough of this digression, let me return to my subject, and shew my readers how a poor man lives in Russia, and then let the propaganda or their disciples, produce their bill of fare? The meanest labourer can always find work, at from one and a half, to two roubles a day—we shall put it at the lowest rate. He can breakfast, dine and sup at an *Kharchevnæ*‡ or at the stalls in the market places, for twenty kopeks a meal, where he is furnished with plenty of black bread, cabbage soup, with beef in it, and casha§—but if he be content to make a dinner of liver, tripe, heart, &c.,

theoretical, they are *sterling.* Though they may have been led away for awhile by the clamour of demagogues for reform, they will think for themselves, when they perceive the danger to their comforts and their fire sides. Ay! and they will feel like honest sober citizens, who love order and good government, and will act with vigour against principles which they cannot fail to have discovered are subversive of all that are sacred, good, and solid upon earth.

* Which John Bull always drinks with cream.

† What must we think of a patriotism, that would deem a republic, *an unstable republic, cheaply purchased at the expence of some millions of lives?* How can Frenchmen be so blind, as not perceive the egotism of those demagogues? How many innocent lives must be sacrificed at the bloody shrine of their presumption!

‡ An eating house for the lower classes.

§ Boiled groats of barley or oats, with oil or butter.

and take his bread with him, he may dine at a stall much cheaper. We will suppose, however, that he has dined at an eating house, and that he chooses to indulge in a glass of rye brandy or a bottle of beer, and in the evening takes a cup of izbitin,*—the whole, will not cost him more than sixty kopeks —so that he has ninety kopeks left. Ninety kopeks a day, for twenty-four working days, is twenty-one roubles and sixty kopeks gained in the month—deduct from this, his washing and lodging, generally three roubles per month,—but we will say five roubles — there remain sixteen roubles and sixty kopeks per month, which for twelve months, produces the sum of one hundred and ninety nine roubles, and twenty kopeks. Out of this, he must pay his *obrok*, say twenty five roubles ; he has then, at the end of the year, one hundred and seventy-four roubles and twenty kopeks. He can clothe himself *well* for seventy roubles a year, consequently, there remains a clear profit of one hundred and four roubles and twenty kopeks, to accumulate or spend, in any way he pleases. This calculation has been made at the *lowest* rate of wages and the *highest* prices of food and raiment. At certain stalls, in the markets, he may get potatoes, eggs, fish, cold meats, pattees, &c., and dine for ten or twelve kopeks. Black bread generally costs about three kopeks the pound, and is never higher than five kopeks. White bread sells at eight to ten kopeks per pound. A Russian prefers rye bread at dinner, as being the most solid. If he wishes a luncheon, he can get a small pie with fish or meat in it, for three or four kopeks. This is the living of a common labourer, in the city or towns ; but if you take a peep into his cottage or izba, at home in the

* Tea made from herbs and leaves of the country

bosom of his family, his domestic comforts are not to be despised. He has his own beef, butter, eggs, milk, &c. The clothing of his family is all made at home, from his own wool and flax, when winter covers the ground with snow, and agricultural labours are suspended. He has no delicacies, but he certainly wants for nothing that is wholesome, good, and nourishing. Should he feel inclined, he makes beer and mead, for hops and honey are abundant throughout Russia. His garden is well stocked with potatoes, turnips, carrots, onions, and cabbages. Of the latter he always lays in a large stock salted for winter, cured after the Dutch manner, and is a very healthy food. Thus far for his physical wants. From his childhood he is brought up in the fear of God,* with sentiments of respect and love for all the sacred bonds of civilized society, obedience to his sovereign, and the laws of the land. He therefore becomes industrious, economical, moral, and charitable, and is particularly dutiful to his parents. The common Russian has been charged with being 'a religionist, from habit and ignorance, and of being so stupid as to "*pray to the picture of a saint, as if it were God.*"' I can assure my readers, he is religious from principle, feeling, and sentiment. He is no bigot. His tolerance of all religions, and the little pains he takes to bias other sects, is the strongest proof in support of my assertion. In this, as in many other respects, he has been grossly calumniated, represented as little better than a heathen or an idolater, by those who, entirely ignorant of his language, as well as his tenets, could form no correct judgment of his religious principles, or how he had been taught to practise them. I have never met a Russian who did not perfectly

* 'Initiam sapientiæ est timor Domine.'

understand, that when he said his prayers before the picture* of a saint, it was to God he prayed, and to the saint, as intercessor or mediator. Having taken particular pains to satisfy myself of this fact, I here subjoin an extract, taken from the common prayer-book, out of which children of all classes are taught their prayers. Those who cannot read and write, have them repeated to them by their parents or the priests, from the moment they can lisp, and therefore all have them by heart. One of the first things, almost, is an injunction concerning the respect due to the saints. 'The saints are to be reverenced, not as we revere God, but as the servants of God, who are to convey our prayers to him and find us grace in his sight, and for this we should ask their assistance.' This being found in every common prayer-book, and enjoined by the priests to those who appear ignorant of the duties of their religion, it will now be seen that it is impossible for the most uneducated Russian, to think that the picture of his saint, generally placed in the eastern corner of his room, *is his God.* In short, it would require volumes to refute all the follies and absurdities which have been published on the subject of Russia, much, no doubt, for want of better information, and not a little from a malicious desire of depreciating what envy forbade to extol. I once thought of translating all the Russian church service, many of the prayers, being almost word for word those of the church of England, but when I came to examine the pile before me, I found it would be an Herculean task. They have prayers, not only for every day in the year, but for all the fasts, which are five in number, and all the holydays apart. This renders the church books exceedingly vo-

* There are no images allowed in the Greco-Russian church.

luminous. That the Russians are sincerely religious from principle and feeling, I am intimately persuaded, and that they exercise hospitality, charity, and good-will towards mankind, from the same pure motives. In general, they will be found to be a kind-hearted, good-natured, generous, well-disposed nation, amongst whom there are fewer crimes committed than any people of the same numerical force on the face of the globe.* I ascribe this to their good moral and religious education, and much also to the nature of the penal code of Russia, that scarcely ever punishes with death, but with what is more dreadful to the imagination; namely, long penitence, banishment, or to hard labour in the mines for life! A Russian is so fondly attached to the spot that gives him birth, banishment appears the most terrible of all punishments. In this hasty and imperfect sketch, I cannot do more than expose the errors of certain publications, though I hope I have been sufficiently explicit, on the subject of the rights, privileges, and immunities of the five classes composing the population of Russia. To describe here the manners and customs of the higher classes at St Petersburg and Moscow, which have been so often the theme of travellers in Russia, however erroneously they may have represented them, would be superfluous, and might offend those gentlemen, without aiding the object of this pamphlet. For I verily believe none of the travellers who have written on Russia (except a certain petulant and learned Doctor, who wrote some years ago), have ever intended to falsify the country or its inhabitants. They have unfortunately, been totally unacquainted with the language; this has given rise to many gross

* In the reign of the Emperor Alexander, during twenty-five years, *there was not one capital punishment!*

errors and false conceptions, making them imperfect judges of what passed immediately before their eyes. I should consequently be extremely sorry to accuse them of malice or partiality, who, in the openness and simplicity of their hearts, have written for the amusement of the public. But those who are politically opposed to Russia, and in the rancour of their *illuminating* principles, have tried to sully the fair fame, the honour, the glory, and the dignity of the present truly illustrious Emperor, I am urged by truth and feeling, to consider in a very different point of view Not that I feel called upon to defend what is impregnable to such base and ungenerous attacks, but because justice demands it. His Imperial Majesty the Emperor Nicholas the First, if we only consider him in his private character, is an excellent husband, an affectionate father, a good man, and a sincere friend. His conduct, in everything that regards those sacred duties, so dear to religion and virtue, is not only irreproachable, but it is *exemplary!* The magnificence of his court, the pageantry of his courtiers, the splendour of his entertainments, are not *what constitute* the felicity of his palace. No! Those are baubles for the world at large. His enjoyments are real and solid, such as every sensible, moral, good, and just man endeavours to collect about himself. A man, whose principles are so pure and noble, whose affections are so truly domestic and paternal, whose conduct has never been tarnished by the *slightest* blot of irreligion or immorality, surely can never be a bad monarch. Will any one, after reading these truths, imagine for an instant, that the emperor of Russia, who is so sensibly alive to all the tender endearments of wedded love, fatherly affection and humanity, can ever become indifferent to the fate of fifty millions of subjects,

brave, good, and loyal, who look up to him, not only as a sovereign, but a father? Can it be supposed, that a person, endowed with all the noble qualities I have enumerated, can possibly be induced to lay aside, as an emperor, the feelings and sentiments, which are so intimately amalgamated with his existence as a man? Surely, no one will be credulous enough to believe, that such a man and such a sovereign, possessing superior talents, sound judgment and a mass of useful knowledge and experience, could ever suffer himself to think or act in conformity with those who would wish him to forget the land that gave him birth, and the dearest interests of his faithful and beloved subjects? The anarchists of the south sent their base incendiaries, fraught with all the combustibles of jacobinism, amongst the inconsistent and too credulous Poles; lit up the flame of rebellion, urged them to forfeit their allegiance, to take up arms against their legitimate monarch, and then abandoned them to sink under the galling pressure of their own folly and imprudence.* At the close of the contest, the disciples of the French school, who cannot believe in the clemency of God, much less in that of a monarch, demanded an asylum of their former friends and advisers—but alas! they came as beggars! Not a *sou* in their pockets! poor, miserable, forlorn, and destitute. Wanderers who abandoned their fire-sides, to seek the *genial warmth* of democratic hospitality and bask in the sun-shine of liberty. Without a home! without a country! how were they received? Like the scattered remains of a retreating army, though a neutral territory!† At lengh their *dear* friends, tired of the unex-

* Fallitor egregio, quis quis sub principe, credit servitium. —*Claudian.*

† Who are always ill fed, and looked upon, with an evil eye.

pected visit and troublesome visitors, who began to increase and crowd upon them from all quarters, conceived the *happy idea* of shipping them off, as fast as they arrived, to Algiers! Whilst the gazette of the great nation, the protectors and supporters of *innocent and oppressed rebels*, declared them 'The most turbulent and discontented of mortals,' and advised getting rid of them as fast as possible, either by exporting them to the deserts of Africa, or sinking them to the bottom of the sea.* Oh! oh! my sweet, amiable, mild, and philanthropic heroes of the propaganda! When riotous and ungovernable fellows come thundering at the doors of your own dwellings, *then* you can discover their tumultuous and disorderly spirits! Their bad qualities *then* are conspicuous, and insupportable! But you thought otherwise, when giving vent to the spleen and venom of democracy, you roused them to madness and rebellion against their lawful government.... The great God be praised, who, in his inscrutable wisdom, has ordained that reaction should always come with redoubled force upon the wicked! Those incendiaries will now have learned, that he who applies a match to combustibles may get singed by that which he had prepared for the destruction of others.... Let them remember, that religion, virtue, order, and good government, are the prototypes of the works of him, who created the universe. If they will only look more narrowly, into the wonderful construction of what has come from his hand, they will find *no part whatever* that is not governed by a head, and moving in the most perfect order and regularity. The motions of the planets round their great monarch, the sun, are all subjected to rigid and

* Fallacia alia, aliam trudet —*Terence.*

unalterable laws; the reason why their movements are so correct and so happily harmonized. Even the very convulsions of nature are subjected to fixed rules and regulations. Animals and insects all exhibit the same submission to fixed laws. Atheistical man is the only *atom* of God's works who rebels against order and good government! But he, too, resembles the volcano. The convulsions and eruptions of his passions are violent and short lived! After the rampant spirit of licentiousness has revelled in murder, rapine, and all the horrors which unshackled vice can devise, he sinks down from weakness and exhaustion, and is again forced to submit to the unchangeable decrees of the Almighty director of the universe, such as he has ordained for the government of mortals, which he can never avert, and from which, in despite of all his egotism and presumption, he never can disengage himself. It behoves then, the lovers of religion, order, peace, and morality, to employ their utmost efforts to repress the wild uproar and extravagancy of democracy. The mildness, the patience, the long and unexampled forbearance of the Emperor of Russia, was carried to the utmost extent. It shewed the calmness of his mind and the excellence of his heart. No measures were left untried to bring the misled and rebellious Poles to a proper sense of their duty—but in vain. Yet, notwithstanding His Imperial Majesty remained inactive until he saw the standard of impiety and rebellion reared at his very threshhold, and threatening his empire with invasion. Then it was, that like an affectionate father, feeling what he owed to his faithful people, his beloved children, he opposed the tide of sedition and democracy, calling upon them to crush the serpent of faction, to defend their altars from profanation, and their

happiness and prosperity from destruction. He had no private animosity, no selfish hatred, no personal revenge to gratify. The dearest interests of his country and his loyal subjects were at stake. It was the duty of the monarch, the protector and father of his people, to crush foul rebellion, and give the death-blow to the hopes of those who audaciously strive to upturn from their foundations, all the most sacred, solid, and valuable of human institutions which religion and virtue, wisdom and experience, have marked out for the government of mankind.

In vain did the creatures of the propaganda endeavour to foment sedition amongst the Russian soldiers. Their infamous and unhallowed offers were spurned with disdain. Making the sign of the cross upon their breasts, they might have exclaimed with one of the most ancient defenders of the Christian faith,* '*inhoc signo vinces*,' and rushing into battle with that valorous courage by which they are distinguished, they stormed the citadel of the rebels, and blasted for ever the wide extended schemes of the disturbers of social harmony in the North. That the heroes of irreligion, anarchy, and revolt, should have been grievously vexed and disappointed is not surprising. Their mortification has been exhibited by various vehement, indecorous, and fretful speeches and publications; what the Latins would call '*brutum fulmen*.' We congratulate them on their acute sensations and agreeable reflections at the news of the taking of Warsaw.

That the emperor of Russia should be calumniated by the democratic fraternity, for having requited treachery, ingratitude, deceit, and rebellion, with clemency, mildness, and humanity, is adding another ray of glory to those resplen-

* The Emperor Constantine.

dent beams which already emblazon his sceptre. But that some of the low abuse should have escaped from the lips of representatives in the British House of Parliament assembled, where they forget the dignity and respectability with which they are invested, as delegates of a great and generous nation, must make every honest and noble hearted Briton, blush with indignation. For it is at *them* the world will sneer, and not at him, whose honour, whose glory, and whose unsullied virtue are invulnerable. '*Mens sibi conscia recti,*' is the motto of the Emperor of Russia, against the shafts of calumny. Those of the *liberal* brotherhood, however, being barbed with insanity and absurdity, must ever prove innocuous!

The perusal of their scurrility brought to my remembrance a sign I saw in a city of the United States of America, hung on a post, before the door of a tavern, and that, I suppose, had some political allusion. It represented a number of little dogs barking at the moon. The moon was drawn with the face of a man, and on a label that came out of his mouth, the following pungent lines were written:—

'Ye little dogs, why bark you so,
When I'm *so high,* and you're *so low?*'

I recommend this simple, but epigrammatic couplet, to the fiery and impotent declaimers against His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and his brave and virtuous people; and have the honour to subscribe myself the public's most obedient humble servant—a lover of order and

A Friend to Truth.

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